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PLATE I



FIG. 1—BAYEUX, EPISCOPAL PALACE: AELFGYVA AND THE CLERIC.
DETAIL FROM THE BAYEUX EMBROIDERY



FIG. 2—BAYEUX, EPISCOPAL PALACE: GROUP OF WARRIORS.
DETAIL FROM THE BAYEUX EMBROIDERY



FIG. 3—BAYEUX, EPISCOPAL PALACE: GROUP OF KNIGHTS.
DETAIL FROM THE BAYEUX EMBROIDERY

The Origin and Date of the Bayeux Embroidery

BY ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS

DOUTLESS Philippe Lauer, the distinguished savant of the Bibliothèque Nationale, expressed a common belief when in reference to the Bayeux "Tapestry" he spoke of "the exceptional and unique character, in an age destitute of industry, of a work of consummate patience and art." Yet one may well wonder whether the Dark Ages were destitute of industry and whether the Bayeux Embroidery was an unrivalled prodigy. With all due deference to M. Lauer's opinion, I hope to show that the Anglo-Saxons produced fine needlework in large quantities, and that as a representative of their art the historical hanging at Bayeux is unique only in surviving.

It was a well established custom among the Teutonic tribes after the Migrations to commemorate their exploits by elaborate paintings, sculptures, or embroideries. This habit, originating in a universal instinct, was doubtless stimulated by contact with the imposing memorials of the triumphs of Rome. About the year 600 Queen Theodolinda caused to be painted in her palace at Monza "aliquid de Langobardorum gestis." In the great council chamber of Louis the Pious at Ingelheim there was a series of historical paintings culminating in the deeds of Charles Martel and Pepin and in the coronation and wars of Charlemagne. King Henry I of Germany had painted, in the hall at Merseburg, his victory over the Hungarians in 933. Aethelflaed, widow of Brihtnoth, Earl of the East Saxons, who fell at Maldon in 991, embroidered a record of his deeds and presented it to the church at Ely.¹

This historical embroidery at Ely is the closest parallel to that still preserved at Bayeux. But Aethelflaed is only one of the multitude of English needlewomen whose work was famous throughout Europe from the tenth to the fourteenth century.² Particularly pertinent to the study of the Bayeux Embroidery is the fact that in Domesday Book a certain Leviede (Anglo-Saxon Leofgyth) is named as embroidress to the King and Queen, and that the Queen in her will mentions a tunic made at Winchester by Alderet's wife. Evidently William and Matilda showed a partiality for Anglo-Saxon needlework; and there is an antecedent probability that other Normans would have shared their taste.

In the case of the Bayeux Embroidery this presupposition is fully confirmed by the character of the inscriptions. They could have been written only by an Anglo-Saxon. The very name which is given to the town of Bayeux is one which is never found in contemporary Norman documents, where it is always "Baiocæ." The form "Bagias" found on the embroidery is paralleled only by the word "Bagiensi" on a fourth-century salver dug up in England.³ The particular form of the letter *thorn* (reproduced as the initial D at the head of this article) is restricted to Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian usage. But the words "at Hestenga" and "Ceastra" clinch the matter.⁴ Note the English word "at," and the

¹Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XCV, 551; CV, 624; CXXXVI, 823; *Historia Eliensis*, ed. Wharton, Book II, ch. 6. The authority for the frequently cited gift to Croyland Abbey of a *velum* showing the destruction of Troy is the quite unreliable Pseudo-Ingulph. Equally suspect is the citation of Charlemagne's paintings at Aix from the Pseudo-Turpin.

²A. F. Kendrick, *English Embroidery*, 6-19. F. X. Michel, *Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication, et l'usage des étoffes de soie, d'or, et d'argent*, II, 338-43.

³J. Spencer Smythe, *Description d'un monument arabe* (Extract from *Procès verbal, Académie royale des sciences etc., de Caen*, 1820), 6. H. Prentout, *Essai sur les origines et la fondation du Duché de Normandie*, 40 f.

⁴These forms are certainly authentic, for they appear in the earliest plates: *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, VIII, 650.

characteristically Anglo-Saxon splitting of the vowel in "Ceastra." Then read this extract from a lease of the year 969: "In Wiogorna *ceastrē* terram aliquam juris nostri, id est quattuor mansas *at* Saperetun swa Alhstan hit hæfde, concedo Eadrico ministro meo."¹ The question of Anglo-Saxon provenance would have been settled long ago had not the ingenious M. Delauney pointed out in 1824 that there was once a Saxon colony at Bayeux called the *Saxones Baiocassini*. Now these Saxon settlers at Bayeux are not, as one might suppose from the readiness with which their claims have been allowed, famous for their skill in needlework. They are known to us only through the fact that Gregory of Tours mentions them twice under the dates 578 and 590 as being slaughtered in great numbers. Two French scholars, M. Prentout and M. Joret, who have recently investigated the subject, have found scarcely a trace of them since that date.² Apparently the slaughter was almost complete. Certainly no one has yet produced any documents from the Bayeux district in which Saxon words intrude among the Latin. Yet for the last hundred years the credit of producing the monumental embroidery has been quite generally conceded, though not by any trained historian or linguist, to the *Saxones Baiocassini*. Is it necessary to mention another theory seriously put forward not many years ago to the effect that the peculiarities of the inscriptions were introduced, together with "those pictorial details where Art leaves off and the Police come in," by some waggish French restorer of the embroidery?³ Of course, his only purpose could have been to keep his compatriots busy explaining away the proofs of English provenance and the signs of Queen Matilda's erotic imagination! How he must have chuckled over his success—if he had ever existed. But alas! such delightful persons exist only in the pages of Rabelais, Voltaire, and Anatole France.

There is one serious argument against an Anglo-Saxon origin. The drawing does not show that gusty treatment of drapery, that accentuation of the wrinkles which, emanating from the school of Rheims, became so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon illumination. Two replies are possible. First, that Continental influences had for many years before the Conquest shown themselves in architecture and calligraphy; and the New Minster psalter of about 1060⁴ shows those influences at work in the plastic arts, for its illumination no longer flutters and crinkles in the earlier manner. A second possible answer is that though the manner of Rheims may have been generally adopted by Anglo-Saxon illuminators, we are not forced to believe that it was adopted by other types of draftsmen and designers. In fact, we have conclusive proof that the simpler line coexisted alongside the agitated line. In an interesting Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of the Pentateuch (British Museum, Claudio B iv) we find a number of drawings which as far as outline and treatment of folds are concerned might well have served as designs for the Bayeux Embroidery. But here and there some finical draftsman has "put the style" on the original outlines: the wrinkles multiply and the hems flutter.⁵ The absence of this mannerism in the embroidery does not shake the certainty that the composer of the inscriptions was an Anglo-Saxon.

But the inscriptions are in Latin, and one can be fairly dogmatic in saying that Anglo-Saxon needlewomen were not conversant with Latin. That accomplishment was limited to the clergy. Is it possible that clerics occasionally contributed to those works for which their countrywomen were famous throughout Europe? A visit to an Anglo-Saxon atelier would reveal it as a familiar practice. The life of St. Dunstan, the craftsman

¹W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonum*, III, 530.

²H. Prentout, *op. cit.*, 43-76. C. Joret, *Noms de lieu d'origine non romane*, 14 f.

³Antiquary, 1907, 255, 288. Published separately as C. Dawson, *Restorations of the Bayeux Embroidery*.

⁴British Museum, *Schools of Illumination*, I, pl. 16; *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pl. xxxvii, fig. 20.

⁵E. M. Thompson, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, pl. 8.

abbot, tells how "a certain noble matron named Aethelwynn summoned him to her with intimate entreaty in order that he might sketch for her various patterns on a stole destined for the service of God, which afterwards she might adorn with gold and gems. When he had come and done this, he brought with him according to custom his lyre, which we call in the language of our fathers a harp, in order that at intervals he might gladden himself and the minds of those who listened. Then one day after dinner, while he, the matron, and her work-maidens were returning to take up their tasks, it happened by a marvelous chance that the harp of the blessed youth, hanging on the wall of the room, of its own accord without being touched, resounded with a loud and joyous twang. . . . When they heard it, he and the matron were struck with fear, the work-maidens quite forgot the work in their hands, and all amazed looked at one another in turn, wondering much what new lesson the miracle might prefigure."¹ Here we have all the factors necessary to the production of such a work as the Embroidery of Bayeux. There is the cleric, experienced in the planning of decorative work and capable of composing inscriptions in Anglo-Latin. There is the matron, who probably selected the dyes and superintended and shared in the actual needlework. Finally, there are the *operatrices*, absolutely essential if such a work as the Bayeux Embroidery was not to consume a generation. In this scene we have, I believe, the clue to the unsolved mystery of Aelfgyva and the cleric (Fig. 1). No one has pretended to have a satisfactory explanation except the late Herr Tavernier, who confidently asserted that Bishop Turold of Bayeux is here commemorating for the edification of his flock his youthful passion for the king's daughter.² What king? What daughter? What is she, an Anglo-Saxon woman, doing at Duke William's court? Since this explanation requires so much explaining, I trust the field is yet open. Is this not simply a bit of studio scandal? That it is a scandal will hardly be denied by anyone who considers the erotic figures in the lower margin, the attitude of the priest, and the significant omission of the verb. That it is unconnected with the historic events at the Norman court into which it is interjected is most probable since no one has succeeded in connecting them. That here are precisely the elements for scandal that an Anglo-Saxon workshop would furnish is certain. That a classic regard for unity or a Puritan delicacy was not so universal among mediaeval clerics and matrons as to preclude their indulging this ribald jest at the expense of their love-smitten coworkers is equally certain. And though the patrons who ordered the embroidery were no better acquainted with Aelfgyva than we, yet being better acquainted with the ways of the contemporary Latin Quarter and being as careless of the unities as the artists themselves, they probably did not require two centuries of cogitation to guess her story.

In speaking of patrons, instead of a patron, I am joining issue with the great scholars, Freeman, Round, Prentout, Haskins, who have concurred in assigning this rôle to Bishop Odo alone. They may be right; yet I cannot help being struck with the way in which Turold, Wadard, and Vital are played up even more than the bishop's own brothers, Eustace and Robert.³ The latter are introduced only once, and then are merely labeled with their names. On the other hand, Turold, as Tavernier has shown,⁴ appears four times. A whole sentence is devoted to showing Vital in an important connection with the Conqueror himself. And Wadard is brought forward in a very singular way. We see

¹W. Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, 20 f.

²Archæological Journal, 1914, 186, note.

³Lingard, *History of England*, I, Appendix, Note A. D. Rock, *Textile Fabrics, Descriptive Catalogue*, (1870), cxvii.

⁴Archæological Journal, 1914, 175, 183 f.

him riding past, apparently more interested in us, the spectators, than in anything that is going on about him. Now this nonchalance is practically unique in the embroidery, which represents an orgy of bustle and agitated concern. If the marked prominence given these three men, vassals of Bishop Odo, does not demonstrate their special interest in the work, it suggests it at least.

But whether Odo was responsible, or his vassals, or both, we can begin to make some inferences as to date. For Odo was imprisoned by King William in 1082, and it is not likely that a representation of the two sharing amicably the glories of the Conquest would have been made after that year. Furthermore, in 1077 Odo dedicated the new cathedral at Bayeux in the presence of the Conqueror and his queen, and we know that it was on the anniversary of this dedication that every year the great hanging was displayed in the cathedral. Delauney's theory that the embroidery was prepared in time for the great occasion in 1077 seems highly probable.

If it be thought that I have assumed too casually, in view of the amount of controversy on the matter, that the embroidery dates from the decade after the Conquest, let me corroborate the point. That the work belongs to the eleventh century Delauney demonstrated by citing the witness of Ordericus Vitalis that the short tunic worn by the embroidered figures was replaced by the long *bliaut* about 1095.¹ A comparison of the costume depicted on the textile with that shown in illuminated manuscripts of known date sends us still further back. Strangely enough, no one has pointed out the close parallels afforded by the magnificent *Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 8878) executed at the Abbey of St. Sever in Gascony between 1028 and 1072.² Compare a group of warriors (Fig. 4) with a similar group on the embroidery (Fig. 2); allow for the fact that the three kings in the upper row wear the peculiar Spanish crown, and that Norman warriors shaved the backs of their heads; and you will see that the costumes are identical. Tunics, shields, mantles are the same. Again, just as the textile shows some of the Saxons using the round buckler with spiked boss against the Normans with their long shields, so too we find in the Beatus the old-fashioned buckler of the same type (Fig. 5). The manuscript also depicts four knights (Fig. 6), who, in spite of their monstrous steeds, resemble in their equipment those familiar figures of Hastings fight (Fig. 3). The conical helmet with lines converging at the point, the nasal, the saddle with voluted bows are identical. The birnies are of the Trousered type which has never been found on any monument of the twelfth century. The birnies of the manuscript differ from those of the embroidery only in covering the chin and the forearms, and would therefore seem to be more advanced than those shown on the Norman knights. Another indication of the early date of the embroidery is the fact that the puzzling rectangular object covering the chests of the knights is to be found elsewhere only, so far as I know, in the Rabanus Maurus manuscript of Monte Cassino, made in 1023.³ After this, is it necessary to refute Mr. Belloc's remarks on the decoration of the shields—remarks calculated to send the College of Heralds into hysterics—or his conflicting statements that the great hanging is "virtually contemporary" with the Conquest and that it is at the same time dependent on Wace's *Roman de Rou*, written after 1160?⁴ Or is it necessary to pick to pieces M. Le Febvre des Noettes' calculation of the date by comparisons with other monuments of even more uncertain date, or to answer his wild dictum that stirrups do not

¹H. F. Delauney, *Origine de la Tapisserie de Bayeux*, 20. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXIV, 92.

²L. Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie*, 129.

³Amelli, *Miniature Sacre e Profane dell'Anno 1023*, pls. CV, CXXVIII.

⁴H. Belloc, *The Book of the Bayeux Tapestry*.

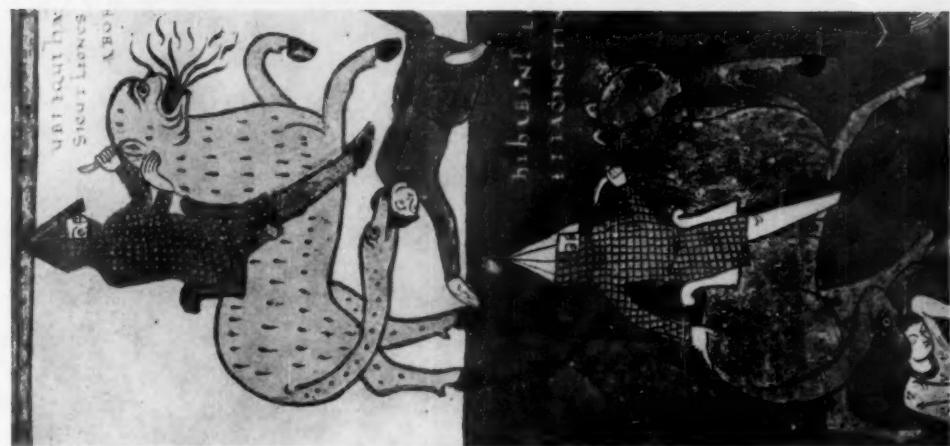


FIG. 6—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: TWO KNIGHTS.
DETAIL FROM THE COMMENTARY OF BEATUS
ON THE APOCALYPSE, COD. LAT. 8878



FIG. 5—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: ST. GEORGE.
DETAIL FROM THE COMMENTARY OF BEATUS
ON THE APOCALYPSE, COD. LAT. 8878

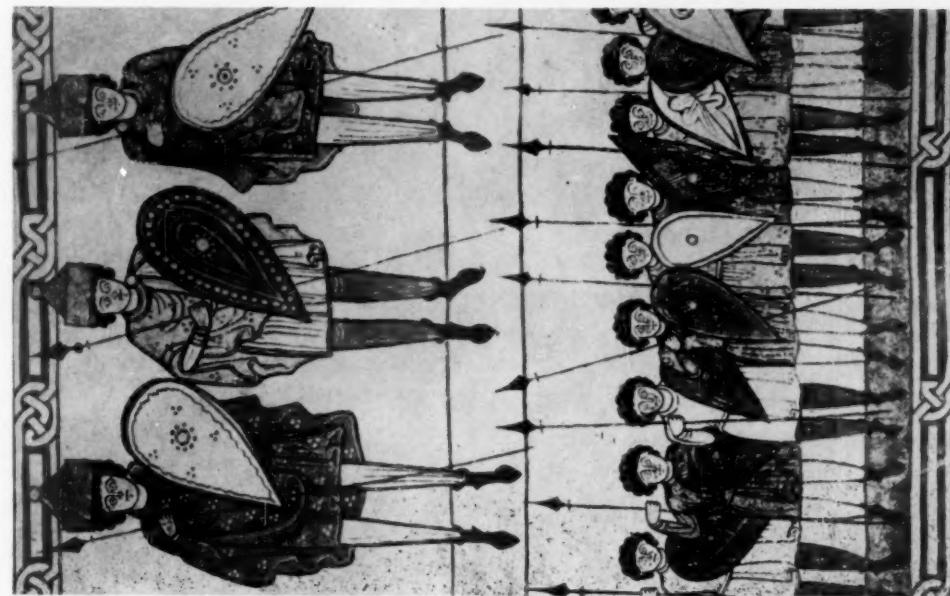


FIG. 4—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: THREE KINGS AND GROUP OF
WARRIORS. DETAIL FROM THE COMMENTARY OF BEATUS
ON THE APOCALYPSE, COD. LAT. 8878

appear until the twelfth century?¹ It would seem not, since there is no sign on the embroidery of the rupture between William and Odo in 1082 and of the latter's consequent disgrace, and since the costume bears so close a resemblance to that depicted in the Beatus manuscript before 1072.²

Furthermore, Guillaume de Poitiers, the Conqueror's chaplain, has a passage so pertinent that one wonders why every commentator on the embroidery has not quoted it. We learn that one of the first acts of King William on his return to Normandy was to distribute lavish gifts to the churches, and, among these, Anglo-Saxon embroideries seem to have been regarded as most precious. The Norman clergy were naturally fervent in welcoming back the victor. "This zeal he rewarded at once," Guillaume says, "with abundant wealth, giving vestments, pounds of gold, and other large offerings to the altars and servants of Christ. . . . He brought to the church at Caen, built . . . in honor of the blessed protomartyr Stephen, divers gifts, most precious in material and craftsmanship. . . . If a Greek or Arab [from Byzantium or Bagdad, which Guillaume knew by reputation as the treasure cities of the world] should travel thither, he would be carried away with the same delight as we. The women of England are very skilled with the needle, as the men excel in every art."³ This narrative, if we substitute Odo or his vassals for King William, and Bayeux for Caen, and allow two or three years for the women to ply their needles, tells us clearly how the great hanging came to adorn Bishop Odo's cathedral.

Apparently when it reached its destination, it was found to be too long. For it has been cut down to fit around the nave. There are three reasons for this conclusion. The present frayed end shows no trace of a side border corresponding to that at the beginning. The designer, who carefully presents Edward enthroned in the first scene and Harold enthroned in the middle, evidently intended to present William enthroned at the end. Finally, the embroidery which belonged to the Conqueror's daughter, Adele of Blois,⁴ must have been either planned by the designer of the Bayeux hanging or else copied from it, since chance cannot explain the fact that every scene is found also at Bayeux except the last two. It therefore follows that these last two were included in the Bayeux hanging before it was cut down. Its fortunes have now been traced from workshop to the cathedral walls, where it was annually hung for centuries to tell how the fair land of England had been won by the prowess of the knights of Normandy.

The embroidery has been so generally treated as a historical document or as an antiquarian curiosity that the man in the street may well sniff at the extravagant praise which contemporaries bestowed upon Anglo-Saxon needlework. The only artistic quality which modern commentators usually concede is the abounding vitality of the illustration. Yet to see the embroidery itself when the sunlight brings out the color and to contrast the old work with the modern restorations is to marvel at the richness and beauty of the original tones. These Anglo-Saxon women were artists in dyeing. Would it not be a well deserved, if tardy, tribute if some publisher were to take advantage of modern processes and reproduce adequately at least a few of the finest scenes? And incidentally, since the latest books on the embroidery are burlesques on archaeological scholarship, we might ask for a little sound information along with the colored plates.

¹*Bulletin Monumental*, 1912, 213.

²Professor A. Kingsley Porter, in *Romanesque Sculpture*, I, 66, and Mr. Walter W. S. Cook, in *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia* (*The Art Bulletin*, V. 1923, 95), have already accepted my dating of the Bayeux Embroidery.

³Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLIX, 1267.

⁴*Mélanges offerts à M. Charles Bémont*, 43.

Present Day Art in the South: Cause and Effect

BY ELLSWORTH WOODWARD

The remarks which I venture to offer in this article are called forth by a clipping from a Boston journal sent to me recently by a friend who feared, I dare say, that I might become forgetful of the situation in which the critical art world holds us of the South.

It appeared that a gentleman described as an "eminent traveler and man of letters" had sojourned for a season in the South, possibly in the hope of improving his digestion and incidentally to observe the cultural aspects of that remote region. I surmise that his health did not improve and that what he saw was not to his taste, for upon his return his feelings found expression in the article clipped for my information.

"The South," he proclaimed, "is as dead and miasmatic as the Dismal Swamp." This happy phrase seemed to encourage him to further flights, for he continued to embroider his message, but upon this I shall not dwell.

We shall not attempt to deny that there is a measure of truth in the observation of our dyspeptic critic—enough to cause a sting—but his unphilosophic and casual mind failed him as the same type of mind has failed other observers of unfamiliar places and peoples.

The situation in the South is sufficiently interesting to warrant the study of social observers; but it does not unfold to the superficial observer, baffled by the absence of familiar symbols and conversational landmarks. I make passing mention only of the tragic dissipation by the Civil War of all material resources, the collapse of social momentum, the isolation of the South for two generations from the stimulating contact of world events. These are reasons for retarded growth in the arts of civilization, but there are others less familiar of which I wish to speak.

Although the South was eliminated as a political force and social example for forty years, her spirit did not suffer eclipse. It not only survived but was intensified in the consciousness of possessing sources of peculiar individuality. This gives point to our regret for the inactivity in art which is apparent, and at the same time stirs hope for her achievements when her rich personality seeks artistic expression, as it surely will. But setting this for the moment to one side, another element calls for attention.

The South is and always has been agricultural and commercial rather than industrial. Such a soil is the least fertile for the development of art. Because the wealth of the section is not invested in competitive manufacture, people here have not been led to a direct appreciation of the value of art commercially. The appreciation of spiritual value in art, the support of art education, the building of art galleries, and the patronage of artists are not likely to be conspicuous in countries or sections of countries that sell raw material and buy back all their finished products.

Economic forces are ponderous and slow of movement, and popular education is even more so. Generations are far more swift. So we witness the phenomenon of southern youth seeking specialized education and, not finding it at home, going to the North or to Europe. And because the opportunity for livelihood and for the exercise of ambition is found lying parallel with the schools, few of these trained children of the South return. The loss is immeasurable—immeasurable because who can compute the potentialities of talent when trained and directed towards the expression of spiritual qualities! Because

the South has neglected art education, she finds herself dumb when she would gladly be eloquent.

This section of our vast common land is conscious of an inheritance of social traditions of honorable history and a background of natural beauty, quite unique and wholly worthy of the world's admiration. How is the world to be impressed? And by whom? It is quite futile to expect a heart symbol interpretative of the sacred essence of patriotism, which is in its last analysis the love of home, to be discovered by a stranger. So extensive in area is our country that a person upreared in one remote section is of necessity a stranger in another. Climate requires a certain manner of life from its inhabitant and imposes upon him an environment that becomes a part of his nature. Environment and inheritance, we are told, are the sum of our determining forces. If art is what we say it is—namely, a means by which true values and emotions find expression—it becomes apparent that we should foster education at home, an education which will put a premium and a fine edge upon the revelation of well-beloved and familiar phenomena of local life. We may freely admit that art is based upon universal principles, but we should not fail to recognize its parochial origin.

Out of this quite obvious situation one road leads and only one—education. What stimulus shall be recognized as best applying to the case?

Specialized art schools will not be greatly increased in the South until industry calls them to its service. Effective work in the public schools cannot be expected outside the largest cities from lack of general understanding of the purpose of such training. Indeed, it seems to me a reversal of the proper order of things to expect the lower grades to direct the development of this subject.

It appears clear to me that we should look to the college in this matter. I do not see how a state university can fail to recognize that here is a plain duty to the taxpayer unfulfilled. That the taxpayer would burst with indignation if art education were introduced is aside from the point. His indignation has overflowed many times for other innovations.

Initial leadership rests with the college president, for it is he who should know the larger issues of national life and persuade his less broadly educated advisors of the justice of his wider vision. The trouble unfortunately lies deeper. Very few college presidents have sufficient understanding of art to give conviction in any course of reform. Leadership is therefore wholly lacking. If I possessed the mystic million dollars with which we please the vagrant fancy, inaugurating in our idle hours the ideal action, I would engage a modern Peter the Hermit endowed with fiery zeal and the statistics of the world, give him a roving commission to visit college presidents and others in authority to lay the foundations of a better understanding. It is a pleasant fancy.

But you will wish to know what those of us in the South who claim to have received the light are doing in support of our convictions.

It is only just to testify, after the foregoing arraignment of presidents in general, that our college and university heads have set an example which we, of the elect, can only approve. Art has become a tradition in our college and exerts an ever-widening effect upon its constituents and, to some extent no doubt, upon the entire section.

There are also the public schools with their devoted teachers of art, but working at great odds against an almost overwhelming condition of misunderstanding, when even open hostility does not prevail.

Then there are the art associations. In every city and in many towns are these organizations of men and women who devote their time and means to the business of securing local opportunity for their artists. All these associations give at least one salon a season composed of the work of local artists. In addition, from one to a half dozen circuit shows are given, thus bringing the standard of the world to bear on the education of the home town.

You would be surprised, as perhaps might be also our unhappy traveler referred to at the beginning of the paper, to know the volume of picture exhibitions that circulate throughout the South. If you could also know the financial cost involved, your respect would be born. For the long express haul is a factor the northern shows know nothing about, but which with us stands at the head of all calculation in such enterprise.

Finally, I wish to speak of the latest development, now in the first year of its existence—the Southern States Art League. The organization grew out of the need for larger and more influential union of the scattered forces throughout the southern section. It is making an effort, still in the experimental stage, to federate all the art organizations of the section and secure by weight of union a public attention which will presently become understanding. The ambitious plan is to assemble one large representative show annually, from which will be selected a convenient number of works to be circulated among as many cities and towns as possible during the season. There is nothing new in this as an idea, but for the South its undertaking is new and holds interesting possibilities.

The great industrial cities of the northern section, neighboring each other so closely, can have but small conception of the need felt in the South—felt rather than understood—of the social value exerted by art. That this prodigious area does not at present contribute greatly to the nation's art is true, but that it has no desire to share in it is by no means true.



PLATE III

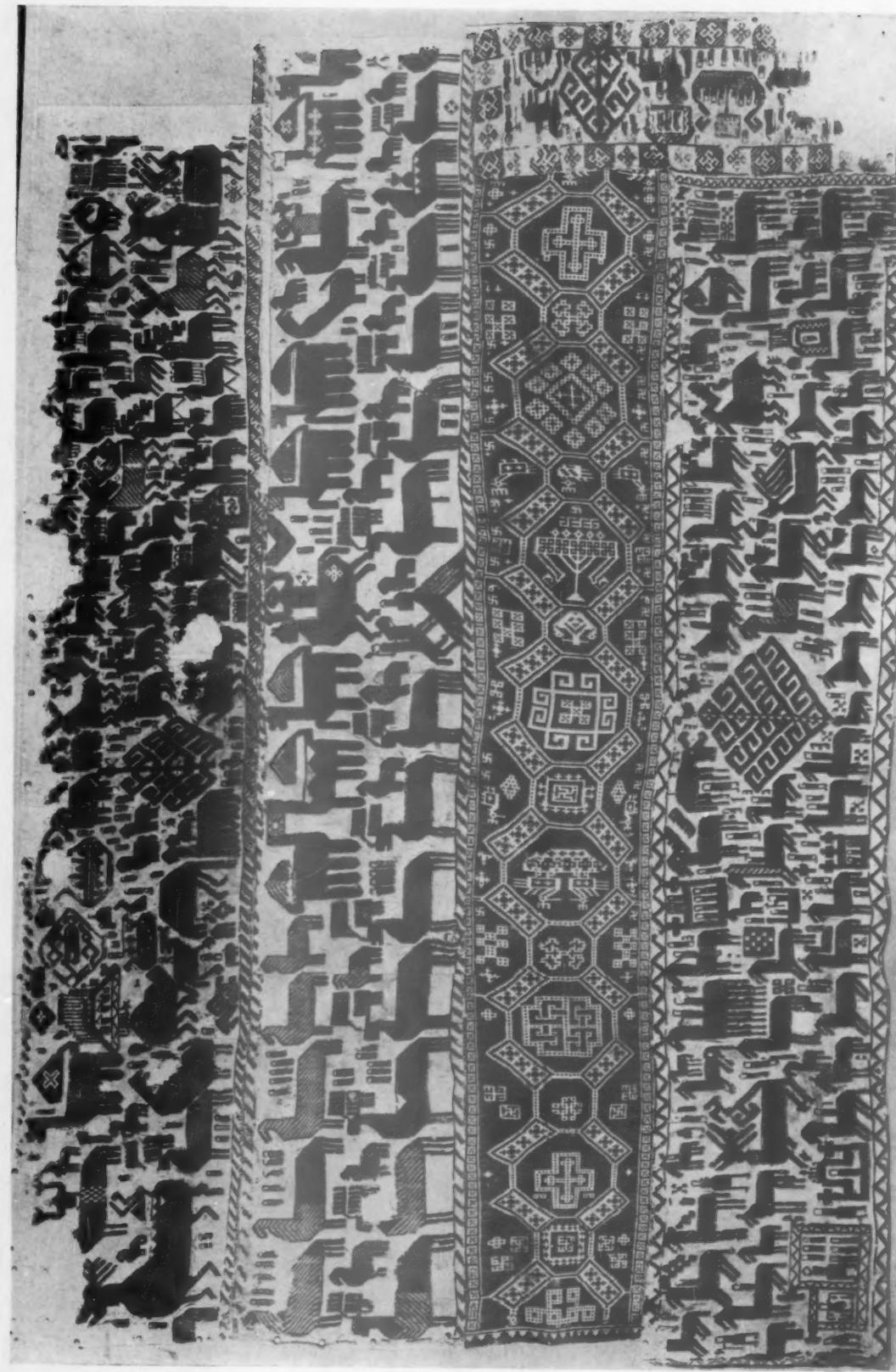


FIG. 1—ÖSTERSUND, JAMTSJÖD SOCIETY: ÖVERHOGDAL TAPESTRY

Mediæval Textiles of Sweden

By M. S. DIMAND

Mediæval Scandinavian art offers promising material for the study of ornament, though some of its important products, such as the textiles of Sweden, are very imperfectly known to the outside world. I wish in this paper first to give a brief account of two Swedish tapestries, referring the reader to the recent monographic treatment of them by Salvén,¹ then to point out the surprising relations between the textiles of Sweden and some of the textiles of Egypt, and finally to explain these relations in terms of artistic influence affecting both countries.

Of the two tapestries in question, the first (Fig. 1) was discovered in 1910 in the church of Överhogdal, the second (Fig. 2) was discovered by Salvén in 1912 in the church of Skog, in the county of Hälsingland. Salvén's investigation of the technique, style, and date of the two wall hangings has thrown new light on the history of mediæval art in the North.

Both textiles are covered with a variety of motives, including human figures, animals, buildings, and geometrical elements. The Överhogdal example consists of four different textiles that have been sewed together. The first and second strips probably came from the same piece, which formed a long frieze. The third strip, with geometrical decoration, the fourth strip, and yet a fifth, attached vertically to them at the right, are each to be regarded as a separate weave.

The middle part of the Skog tapestry is occupied by two buildings, which Salvén has rightly identified as a church and a bell tower. The church has a single aisle separated from a lower choir by a door, and a steeple provided with a bell, which is being rung. The neighboring two-storied bell tower, surmounted by a cross, has in the somewhat smaller upper story two bells, which are being rung by three men standing on the ground floor. Both the church and the bell tower are probably of wood, for Salvén finds many analogies in Scandinavia. Characteristic of the buildings are the decorations at the corners in the form of posts carved with fantastic animal heads. Similar decoration is shown on a building at the left end of the fourth strip of the Överhogdal tapestry. These animal heads have been made familiar by repeated discoveries in Norway. With the Oseberg ship, which dates from the first half of the ninth century, were found some wooden objects, sledges and posts, decorated with carved animal heads² analogous to those of the Skog tapestry. These carvings in wood from the Oseberg discovery represent the best of the art of the Vikings. Animal heads are known to have been used by the Vikings on their ships (see the cover design of this magazine)³ in order to frighten their enemies. Placed on the temples and churches of the Vikings, such heads probably had the same purpose.⁴

The human figures represented on the two tapestries are classified by Salvén in three groups. To the first belong the three figures seen at the left end of the Skog tapestry. These stand on a podium in full face, with the feet, however, turned to the left. They wear long dresses that spread out below the girdle in a kind of bell shape. On their heads are helmets with crowns. In their hands are different attributes, as axes of ordinary Viking type and shields; in the right hand of the middle figure is a cross, in his left an

¹Salvén, *Bonaden från Skog*, 1923.

²Brögger-Schetelig, *Osebergfundet*, 1917-20, vol. III, figs. 62, 66, 72, 113, 143, 168, 180, 188-191, 193-200; Pl. X.

³From a gravestone in St. Oran's churchyard, Iona.

⁴Salvén, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Eckhoff, *Svenska stavkyrkor*, 1916, fig. 103; Brögger-Schetelig, *op. cit.*, fig. 344.

indefinite object. To the second group Salvén assigns the other figures on this tapestry, the horsemen and the figures standing within and beside the church. They are smaller and more conventionally treated than the first group. The skirt worn by these figures at the church shows a vertical slit down the middle. This "kyrtill," as it is called, is already known from Viking and other mediæval monuments. It appears, for example, on the Gallus door at Basel.¹ It has sometimes been taken to be trousers. But to judge from the parallels cited by Salvén it is more accurately regarded as a slit skirt worn by men. The female dress of the period is represented on the Överhogdal tapestry, where it appears on the small vertical strip at the right between the ship and the horseman. The third type of Salvén's classification is treated almost schematically, and arms and legs are often lacking: figures of this type appear all over the Överhogdal tapestry.

On both textiles animal forms occupy the major part of the field. On the Överhogdal tapestry horses, reindeer, harts, and birds are recognizable; on the Skog tapestry are horses, fantastic animals which Salvén calls lions, and birds. Some other small animal forms are thrown in for filling.

Geometrical designs appear in the borders and scattered over the fields of both textiles. The border of the Skog textile is divided into small rectangular sections with different motives. This method of ornamenting a border may be seen on stone slabs from Gotland and Scotland of the ninth and tenth centuries.² The geometrical ornament of the Skog border comprises lozenge diapers, parallel zigzags, irregular hook patterns, and crosses. The last mentioned, best seen on the border of the left end, are of special interest. In addition to the obvious diagonal crosses in dark lines there are negative crosses made by the ground. These twofold crosses³ reveal connections with both eastern and western art. The positive crosses are of eastern origin and probably came from Russia,⁴ with which Sweden was in close relations at an early date. The negative crosses with lozenge arms are similar to those on a stone slab from Nigg, Scotland:⁵ the relations between Scandinavia and the British Isles was likewise of early origin, and many similarities of ornament can be found.

The third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry is decorated with a geometrical pattern, a segment of octagon diaper formed by irregular rectangles connected by narrow bands. The rectangles contain crosses; the octagons are filled with various geometrical and geometrized ornaments, including crosses, swastikas, interlaces, boats, and birds. Many of these ornaments appear elsewhere on the Överhogdal tapestry, both in the borders and in the figured fields. Favorite motives are angular interlacings in cross form, and the rosettes (or crosses) made by five square dots, seen in the border of the third strip and here and there on the fields of the other strips. Other textiles with analogous ornaments are to be found in Swedish collections.⁶

What is the subject matter represented on these two textiles? Its Christian character is suggested by the abundance of crosses. Karlin⁷ and Salvén have presented a satisfactory interpretation of the subject. The Skog tapestry shows to the left of the church a three-headed rider that is to be regarded as a heathen deity. This deity is accompanied by wild animals, probably lions, representing the forces of evil that are attacking the church of the Christians with intent to destroy it. On the right side, though some of the queer animals

¹Salvén, *op. cit.*, fig. 73.

²*Ibid.*, figs. 90, 92; Montelius, *The Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times*, fig. 176.

³Both types of cross appear on animals of the other tapestry.

⁴Arne, *Suède et l'Orient*, 1914, fig. 347.

⁵Salvén, *op. cit.*, fig. 90.

⁶*Ibid.*, figs. 100, 102, 103.

⁷Karlin, *Överhogdalstapeten*, 1920.

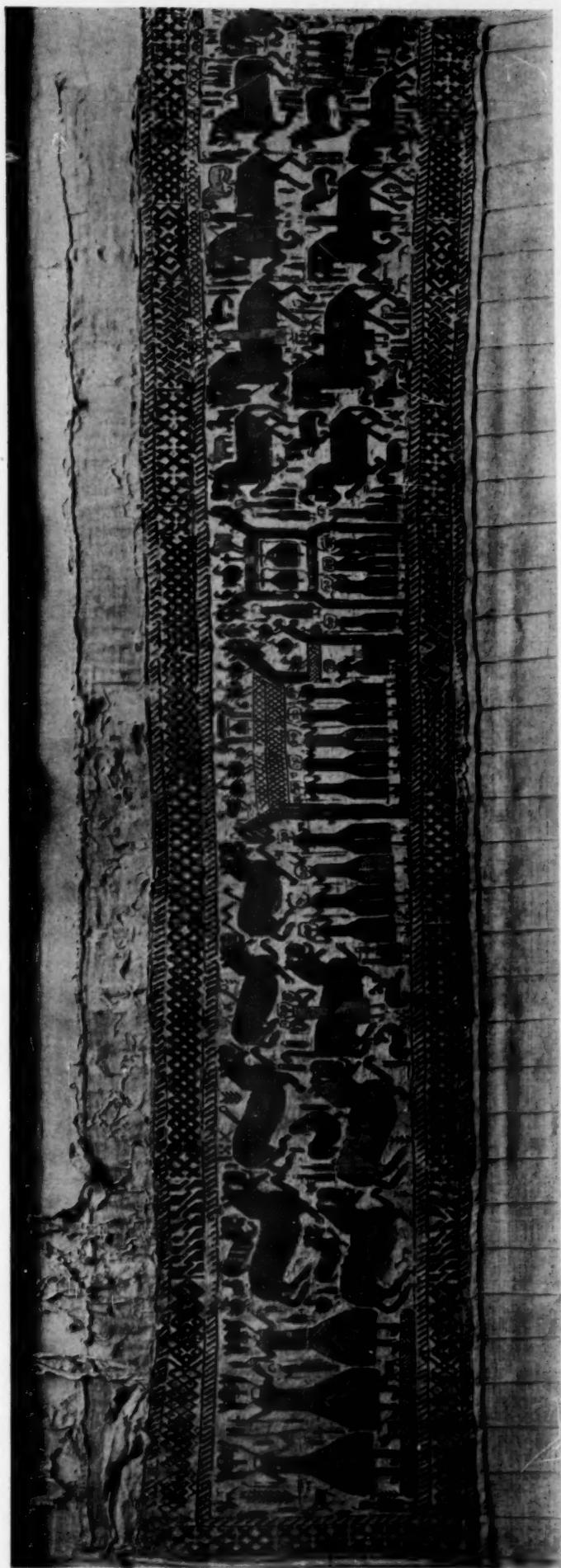


FIG. 2.—STOCKHOLM, HISTORICAL MUSEUM: SKOG TAPESTRY



occur there also, are horsemen that are to be regarded as Christians coming to the defence of the church. The middle of the textile shows the Christians in and about the church and bell tower, some ringing the bells in order to drive their enemies away, some standing guard inside and outside the church. The altar is visible too, and the priest standing before it saying the mass. The three large figures at the left end represent perhaps the three Magi. Such an explanation of the tapestry seems convincing.

On the Överhogdal tapestry some buildings and figures are clearly designated as Christian. To the left of the middle in the fourth strip one may see a man in a sledge holding a cross. Other crosses are to be seen on neighboring buildings, evidently to be taken as churches. The heathen element is no less apparent. The conventional tree with a bird on the top, occurring in the first, the fourth, and the fifth strip, seems to be derived from the mythology of the North. There is a heathen deity placed on top of a hill near the middle of the second strip. A man carrying an axe in a threatening attitude is riding up the hill, presumably intending to destroy the heathen figure. This episode establishes the connection with what we found on the other tapestry. In both we have the conflict between Christianity and heathenism. Karlin explains the whole representation on the Överhogdal tapestry as the story of a Christian mission to the county of Norrland, which ended with the victory of Christianity.

Comparing the Överhogdal and Skog tapestries one cannot but recognize a certain difference in style despite the many points of similarity. The coloring is much the same: red, blue, green, and yellow are used decoratively in a purely arbitrary way; for instance, the horses of the Skog tapestry are blue and the riders red or *vice versa*. But the arrangement of the figures on this tapestry is more symmetrical than on the Överhogdal example, where motives of various sizes are strewn unevenly over the available surface. On the Skog tapestry there is a regular antithetical arrangement of the animals, which are disposed in two rows on either side of the buildings. On the Överhogdal tapestry, however, they are almost all facing toward the left and without any symmetrical scheme of distribution except that an attempt at symmetrical composition is seen in the fourth strip (and in the first, though the present relative position of the tree may be adventitious), where the conventionalized tree effects a nearly balanced division. On the Skog tapestry the animals have curved outlines and thus appear much less conventional than the angular simplified ones of the other tapestry, which is more archaic and more suggestive of the heathen spirit and art of the Vikings.

The Vikings, as we call the inhabitants of Scandinavia from the time of Charlemagne to that of William the Conqueror approximately, had a high decorative sense. Their objects of daily use in wood and metal have a rich ornament peculiar to the art of the North, in which interlaced animals play an important part. Along with the Oseberg ship were found textiles¹ closely related to the Överhogdal tapestry. These textiles from Oseberg are likewise irregularly covered with human figures, animals, vehicles, buildings, and trees, among which swastikas and lozenges are likewise interspersed. But the Oseberg textiles, in contrast to the Överhogdal tapestry, are pagan in subject. A similar style of ornament is shown by the ninth- and tenth-century Swedish gravestones from Gotland cited above,² where ships, buildings, and horsemen, all of the same type and style as on the Överhogdal tapestry, may be found.

The style of the figures and their distribution seem to be more primitive on the Överhogdal tapestry than on the Skog tapestry. This and the abundance of heathen

¹Salvén, *op. cit.*, figs. 2-4.

²P. 12, note 2.

motives on the former induce me to regard it as earlier than the latter. Salvén assigns both to the period between the middle of the eleventh and the middle of the twelfth century, during which time Christianity was introduced into the southern part of the county of Norrland, where he believes these two tapestries originated. Because of its more archaic character I should assign the Överhogdal tapestry to the eleventh century.

The technique of the two textiles described is of as great interest as their subject matter. Except for the third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry, the pattern of both is woven in wool of various colors on a ground of linen. There has been some variation of opinions as to the technique employed. While by some of the Swedish textile experts the designs were formerly regarded as embroidered on the ground, from Salvén's study and the examination by Miss Sylwan it now appears that they are woven in and not embroidered. The weft threads of the pattern are passed forward over various numbers of warp threads, for instance over nine, then backward under two or three, and again forward over nine threads, etc.; thus the weft threads are wound around the warp threads. To every weft thread of the pattern succeeds one of the ground weave. This whole technique is very similar to that used in a special group of Coptic textiles with fine details in linen.¹ Also at a later date Persian Soumak rugs show a technique the same in principle. Of all these textiles the characteristic feature is the slinging of the weft around the warp. This technique was extensively used in Scandinavia during the Middle Ages.

The third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry represents another kind of technique, the so-called double weave. The pattern on this piece is repeated mechanically. The same technique and similar patterns are found in the drawloom weaving from Egypt.² While the patterns elsewhere are obviously of Northern origin, the ornamental motives of this strip are of another character. The question immediately arises whether these are peculiar to Sweden or whether they are adopted from without. Geometrical ornamentation in the form of a lozenge diaper is very frequent in the art of the Vikings, but the method, that here appears, of covering a surface with an octagon diaper formed by rectangles is unfamiliar in the art of the North. Whence does it come? It brings to mind textiles from Coptic Egypt, where a group of woven stuffs, assigned to the period of the fifth to seventh century A. D., shows very similar patterns. Numbers 579 and 586 in Fig. 3 have a lozenge pattern formed by rectangles decorated with crosses. Numbers 569 and 587 offer us a direct parallel to the Swedish ornamentation: the rectangles are connected with lines, the fields of the octagons are decorated with geometrical cross-shaped designs, the rectangles have on a diminutive scale the cross motives. A further resemblance to the Swedish textiles is the use on other Coptic textiles of the angular interlacings and the rosettes of five dots.³ On the whole, then, the ornament of the third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry is as suggestive of Coptic influence as is the technique.

The question of artistic relations and influences brings up the whole matter of the derivation of the drawloom textiles. Peculiar to Egyptian and Hellenistic work was the tapestry technique. This allowed textile decoration to change its subject and ornament with the freedom of painting. The use of the drawloom, on the other hand, led rather to a repeating or a symmetrical decoration, as the third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry and the related Coptic textiles illustrate. A careful comparison of the ornament seen on the textiles of Fig. 3 with that of ancient Egyptian or Hellenic art reveals, moreover, that the ornament is foreign to them both. It has been introduced from elsewhere.

¹Dimand, *Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien*, 1923, fig. 10.

²Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying Grounds in Egypt*, 1921, vol. II, pls. 24, 25.

³Ibid., vol. I, pl. 7; vol. II, pl. 29; Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, vol. I, fig. 33.

PLATE V



FIG. 3—LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM: WOVEN BANDS, BRAIDS, AND PANELS FROM EGYPT



FIG. 4—LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM: CLOTH WITH INLAID ORNAMENT FROM EGYPT

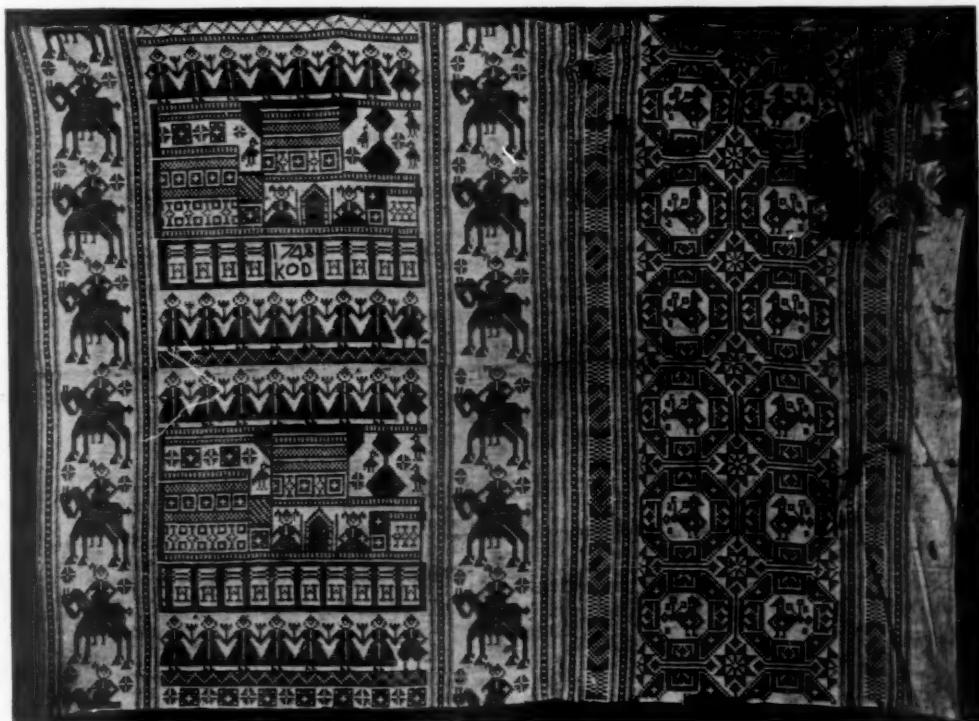
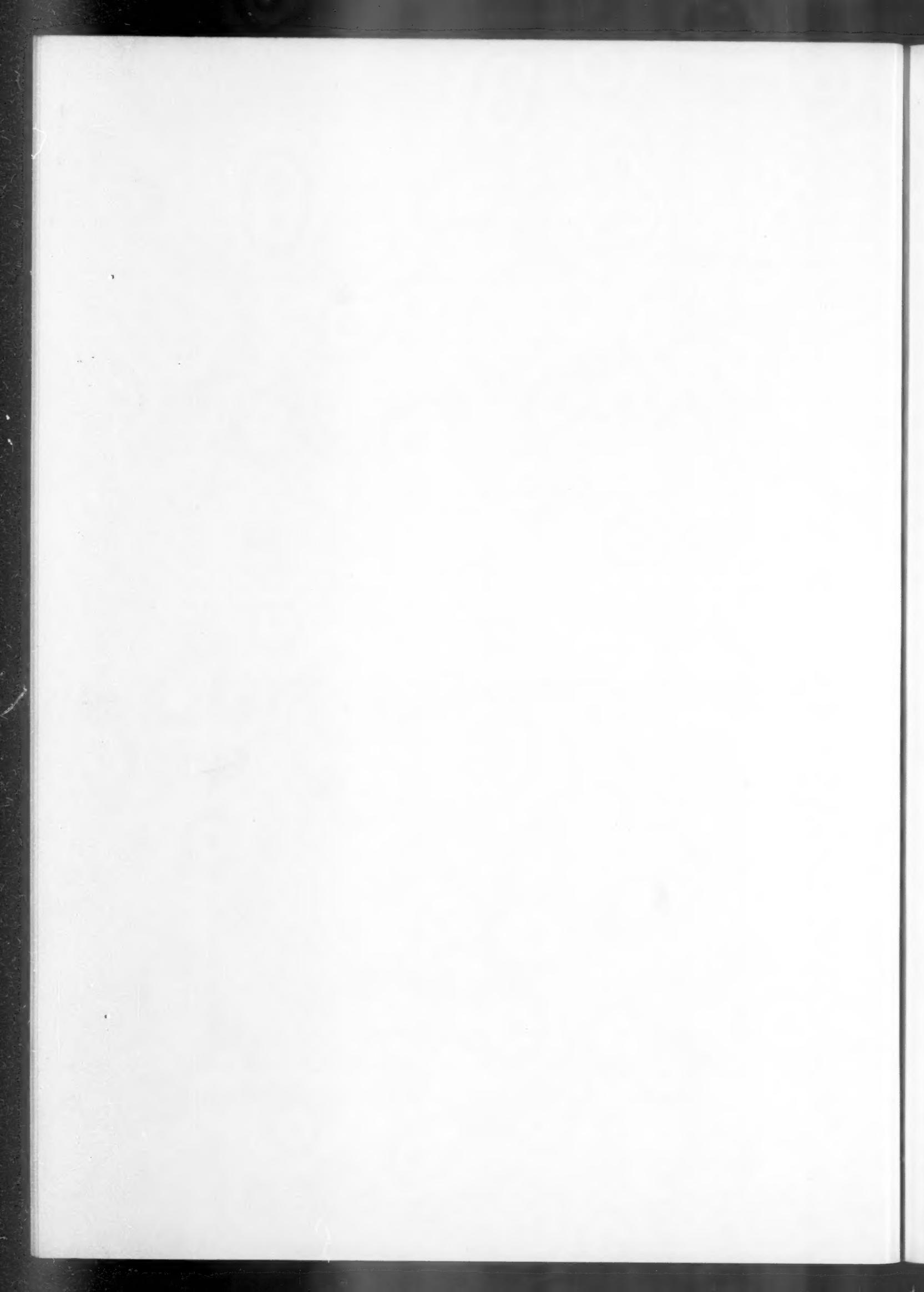


FIG. 5—STOCKHOLM, NORTHERN MUSEUM: LINEN CLOTH WITH INLAID ORNAMENT



Falke, as is well known, in his *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, advances the theory that a style and technique of silk-weaving sprung up at Alexandria, and he maintains that no traces of Chinese or Persian influence can be found in the silks from Egypt. A special group of silks from Antinoe¹ is described by Falke as of Greek origin, though others find no motive of Greek origin on them. This theory of Falke's is contradicted by the results of Strzygowski's investigation,² for the latter gives clear proofs of Persian influence. In fact, outright Persian elements appear in textiles from Antinoe;³ but Falke, though in classifying the textiles by themselves he recognizes perfectly the Persian influence as far as the single motives are concerned, does not recognize it as to the style in general.

Important new material has been furnished by the recent excavations by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia.⁴ In Lou-Lan Chinese silks have come to light which date from the Han period, while the corresponding Egyptian weavings do not antedate the sixth century A. D. With the help of these new Chinese textiles it is possible to trace the derivation of many decorative elements appearing in the textiles from Coptic Egypt. The ornamentation which Falke calls Greek can be found on stuffs from Tunhuang.⁵ Though the date of the Tunhuang textiles (like that of Falke's alleged Greek group) cannot be fixed exactly, they can be assigned, according to datable material found along with them, to some period between the fifth and the ninth centuries of our era. Among the lozenge diapers we find closed and open patterns. The closed ones show broad ornate bands similar to some in textiles from Antinoe.⁶ The open lozenges are formed by variations of the swastika and square and are like those on other textiles from Antinoe⁷ both in general scheme and individual motives. The birthplace of this ornamentation can only be China or Central Asia, for such lozenges and other motives were already known in China during the Han period or before.⁸ Of great value to us is a Japanese pattern book, *Orimon Ruisan*, which includes ancient designs from Chinese and Japanese textiles. In this book there is figured a pattern⁹ which is strikingly similar to those of the third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry (Fig. 1) and its Coptic analogues (Fig. 3, Nos. 569, 587). The pattern consists of rectangles and small octagons forming octagonal fields inclosing symmetrical birds that recall those appearing on Chinese vases of the Han period.¹⁰ Thus we have good reason to assume that the pattern from the *Orimon Ruisan* comes from a textile of the Han period and is, therefore, far earlier than the Coptic and Swedish parallels. In a recent investigation of the technique of late antique and of Chinese textiles Miss Sylwan¹¹ has reached the conclusion that the Occidental technique of silk-weaving and that of related woolens is not of Alexandrian but of Chinese origin and that it was probably through Persia that the technique reached Egypt.

A further characteristic feature of the motives used in the third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry is the angularity of outline. This too appears on Coptic¹² and Persian¹³ textiles.

¹Falke, *op. cit.*, figs. 32-38.

²Strzygowski, *Seidenstoffe aus Aegypten* (*Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1903).

³Falke, *op. cit.*, figs. 46-50.

⁴Stein, *Serindia*, 1922, vol. V; Andrews, *Ancient Chinese figured silks, excavated by Sir Aurel Stein* (*Burl. Mag.*, vol. 37).

⁵Ibid., pls. LV, CXX.

⁶Falke, *op. cit.*, figs. 34, 46.

⁷Ibid., figs. 32, 33.

⁸These problems are discussed in my article, *Sidenvävadskonstens ursprung och de senaste textilsynden i Centralasien* (*Svenska Orientföreningens Årsbok*, 1923).

⁹Falke, *op. cit.*, fig. 127.

¹⁰Hoerschelmann, *Die Entwicklung der altchinesischen Ornamentik*, 1907, pls. XXIII, XXIV.

¹¹Sylwan, *Studier i senantik textilkonst. Nagra skafvärnader* (Riga, 1923.)

¹²Falke, *op. cit.*, figs. 29, 64, 80.

¹³Ibid., figs. 129, 136, 138-145, 151.

Among the latter is a group ascribed to eastern Persia and belonging probably to some period between the eighth and the eleventh centuries A. D. The rigid angularity of outline of the motives is only in minor degree the result of the textile technique. It is rather to be regarded as primarily the result of a definite textile style such as is characteristic of Persian textiles. The appearance of this style in Egypt is due to Persian influence, which was already felt in Egypt before the Sassanian occupation (616 A. D.). Those textiles from Antinoe and Akhmîm¹ which show Persian motives are not all Egyptian products, despite Falke. Many of them are imports from Persia,² others are copies made in Egypt. The angular style in Sweden is probably due to nothing less than distant Persian influence.

This connection will not be surprising to one who knows of the intimate relations during the Viking period between Sweden and the East. Regular intercourse with the East began about 800 A. D. and from this time forward it is attested by Swedish, Russian, and Oriental documents.³ The Vikings penetrated to the East by way of the great Russian rivers, especially the Volga, and travelled as far as Constantinople and the Caspian region. Sweden established direct commercial contact with the empire of the Khazars, which lay between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea and Volga River.⁴ Many wares of Swedish manufacture have been found in Russia and, *vice versa*, Oriental coins and other metal work have been excavated in Sweden. These imported objects came to Sweden from as far afield as Asia Minor, Persia, Turkestan, and Siberia,⁵ and brought among their decorative motives the Persian palmette and the more or less conventionalized fauna that are familiar to us from Sassanian textiles and vases. These imported Oriental objects, many of which, as Arne says, were copied in Sweden, date from the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, those having Christian characteristics, as the small crosses, mostly from the eleventh century.

The recorded relations between Sweden and the East together with the objects discovered in Sweden are enough to show that Swedish decorative art of the Middle Ages had grafted on its pure Scandinavian stem a scion from the East, especially Persia and Turkestan. The resemblances between the textiles of Sweden and those of Egypt may be explained by the fact that both countries were in touch with the same Asiatic territory whence they imported the same decorative elements and techniques.

Another weaving common to Egypt (Fig. 4) and Sweden (Fig. 5) might be cited as a corroborative illustration of these historic relations: an "inlaying method," producing a kind of brocade, called in Swedish *dukagångssnår*. Characteristic of these textiles are the conspicuous parallel lines caused by the technique. The weft threads pass alternately over some three or four warp threads and under one. This technique came to Sweden via Constantinople and Russia, probably in the Middle Ages and was continually used during the following centuries. How strong the tradition was in Sweden is apparent from the textile of Fig. 5, the right part of which has a pattern very similar to that of a cloth of drawloom weaving from Egypt:⁶ both of them showing a diaper of octagons with a profiled bird filling. This design spread probably from Persia as far as Sweden during the Middle Ages.

¹*Ibid.*, figs. 59, 60.

²*Ibid.*, figs. 48-50.

³Arne, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-18.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 117-204.

⁶Kendrick, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pl. 25.

The Art Division of the American Ceramic Society

By EDWIN M. BLAKE

The American Ceramic Society was started at a convention of the National Brick Manufacturers' Association held at Pittsburgh in February, 1898. It appears that a paper treating of the chemistry of glazes applicable to terra cotta was read before the association but excited little interest from most of those present—business men, who had yet to learn the value of scientific control to their industry. Nevertheless, the author of the paper found eight kindred spirits at the convention, and thirteen more joined them soon and effected the organization of the American Ceramic Society. Last February this society, having over eighteen hundred members, met at Pittsburgh to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary.

In 1918 a plan, which had been under discussion for several years, was carried through, that of permitting groups of members of the American Ceramic Society to organize divisions, of which there are now seven, namely: Art, Enamel, Glass, Heavy Clay Products, Refractories, Terra Cotta, and White Wares. At the convention this year one day was given over to meetings of the society as a whole and two days to division meetings, each in a room by itself but all in the same building, thus permitting a member to divide his time between divisions. For the last two days seven trips were offered, each requiring a whole day and permitting visits to several manufacturing plants.

The Art Division, the last to be established, commenced its activities in 1921 with a membership campaign and the development of a program. It induced the society to have an exhibition of ceramic products during its convention in 1922 and again in 1923, and to be represented in like manner at the Chemical Exposition in New York, and it will be the policy of the division to encourage the society to arrange for exhibits, especially of artistic wares, whenever favorable opportunities arise. It need hardly be said that the Art Division will endeavor to influence manufacturers of table china, art pottery, terra cotta, and tile to pay more attention to the artistic quality of their output, but it is not proposed that the matter will end with mere propaganda. The technique of making, coloring, and handling glazes, the numerous processes of decoration, and designs suitable for ceramic wares are to be studied. In this connection it is interesting to note that the charter members of the division were twelve manufacturers and managers of clay-working plants, nine artists or decorators, nine ceramic instructors, five potters, and three dealers in ceramic supplies. This, taken with the fact that at conventions members of all divisions meet together for one day and afterwards in nearby rooms, makes contact between art and manufacturing interests intimate and easily maintained.

In the educational part of its program the Art Division will call to the attention of teachers in the grammar and high schools the advantages of clay as a means of developing the hand, the observation of space relations, and self-expression. Later the clay work may be made a convenient peg on which to hang information concerning clay wares and their manufacture, which in brick, tile, table china, and the crocks and bowls of the kitchen form so large a part of the child's environment. From this it is an easy step to elementary questions of industry and economics. As the student passes through high school, more and

more attention should be given to design, with the hope of stimulating artistic appreciation. It is not proposed to make artistic potters but rather to draw the interest of the pupil to excellent examples of vases while he is trying to make one himself and then lead him on to the enjoyment of other objects of art. It should be understood that this is not vocational instruction, though it may form the beginning of trade training for those who are planning to enter the ceramic field. In the interest of these the Art Division will endeavor to gain the support of the clay-working interests and the proper municipal, state, and federal authorities for trade schools at such pottery centers as Zanesville, East Liverpool, and Wheeling, schools in which the several branches of the potter's craft will be taught and designers and decorators trained. Further, it is proposed to assist this movement by the formulation of tentative plans for the organization of such schools, including essential personnel, curriculum, equipment, cost, etc.

"Everyone interested in historical pottery is aware of the fact that no practical or technical information is offered by museum authorities, or that no such information accompanies the historical data usually attached to each exhibit; nor is it published by the museum authorities in separate form. Yet such information contributed by authoritative sources would be of unquestioned value to the industrial concerns interested in such types.

. . . The Art Division is taking steps to approach certain of the museums with a view to ascertaining the probability of undertaking such a work" (*Jour. Amer. Ceramic Soc.*, Feb., 1922, in an editorial on the Art Division). This interesting suggestion, if carried out, not only in ceramics but in other lines as well, would no doubt increase the value of museum collections as a means of study, especially were indexes provided to enable one to locate all pieces having the same technical character. Inquiry at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, elicited the information that when new labels are prepared for ceramic pieces such technical information as the museum authorities are able to supply is placed on the label. In the Textile Study Department, where, to be sure, the matter is much simpler than in ceramics, notes on material, style of weave, etc., are being supplied.

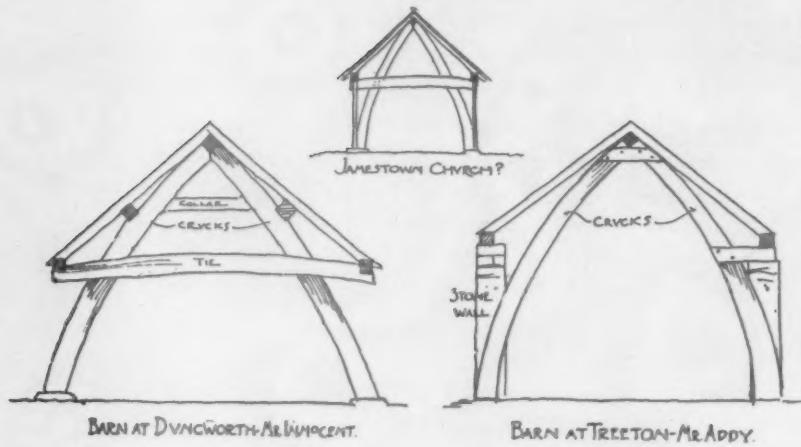
The value of the Art Division to the manufacturer and designer of decorated wares should be evident—the American Ceramic Society is their trade organization—but for the teachers of pottery making in the schools and those having small studios producing art pottery and tiles, an additional few words may not be amiss. The society has a monthly publication, divided into three sections: the *Journal*, containing original papers and discussions; *Ceramic Abstracts*, giving short accounts of the contents of articles appearing in current technical literature; and the *Bulletin*, containing notes on the activities of the society. To be sure, much of the material published is of little or no value to the teacher or studio worker, though each should find in the course of a year several articles of importance, and even articles intended for the trade may indicate some new material or factory expedient adaptable to the studio, and the broader field and greater magnitude of commercial production thus brought to the attention may serve as an agreeable corrective to a narrowness which laboratory work is prone to develop. The Art Division has induced its members to volunteer to write articles covering the several operations of pottery making according to a prearranged schedule. These are to be read at meetings and published in the *Journal*, after which when the series is complete they are to be collected together, changed to such extent as discussion may have indicated, and issued as a textbook.

For those who can attend the society's conventions (the next one will be held in February, 1924, at Atlantic City, within easy reach of Trenton and other clay-working centers in New Jersey) there is the added benefit of contact with other teachers and studio

potters, of acquaintance with those engaged in commercial production, and of visits to manufacturing plants.

So much for the Art Division as a branch of the American Ceramic Society, but from a wider viewpoint it is one manifestation of the rapidly growing movement toward "Art in Industry," to use the title of Professor Richard's very valuable report of the Industrial Art Survey. In this connection the question immediately arises, are there other trade organizations with art divisions? Inquiry addressed to secretaries of some of the trade organizations and to others in a position to know shows there is an awakening interest for art and a disposition to seek means to make that interest productively effective, but as yet there is no arrangement similar to that of the ceramists.

REVIEWS



DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES AND OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC. By FISKE KIMBALL. 4°, xx, 314 pp., 219 ills. New York, CHARLES SCRIBNERS SONS, 1922. \$12.

The early architecture of the Colonies has long needed a history. Of the many books on the subject no one has covered the ground completely. In the work we are now to consider Professor Fiske Kimball's lectures at the Metropolitan Museum "have been elaborated in an effort to present a comprehensive and accurate view of the evolution of the early American house." The story is begun at the beginning and continued to the very end, for the latest house mentioned is dated 1857. In fact, to the work from 1784 onward there is given a division of the book, 117 pages, which is nearly as large as the two sections, taken together, which are allotted to the seventeenth century and the eighteenth to the close of the Revolution. Near the end of the book comes a Chronological Chart of "nearly two hundred houses between the time of settlement and 1835" in the study of which "it has been possible to determine with sufficient, and in most cases with absolute exactness the dates and the original form." To this succeeds a collection of Notes on Individual Houses, largely occupied with reasons for the dates which are given, and an Index closes the work.

The form of the book is dignified, and it looks well on the shelf, but it is clumsy to hold and is hard to read because the page is too wide. It seems strange that our publishers are not always abreast of the foreign men in this part of book making. The illustrations are plentiful and good and many of them are new and are very welcome. Perhaps because of the great number they are not always well placed in relation to the text which describes them.

The close dependence of the work in the Colonies upon the types in use in the mother country is insisted upon and well set forth, especially for the eighteenth century, but beyond this statement there is very little attempt to create any historical background or to connect the movement of the art with any of the great political currents of the times except the Revolution. Our indebtedness to France is not touched upon till the introduction to the Republican period.

At the outset Professor Kimball disposes of the usual theory that log huts were the first houses of our ancestors. The documentary evidence—or the lack of it—is, as he says, all against it. This view is no doubt correct as he applies it to the earliest settlements, but there are, in the pine region, several houses, such as the McIntyre, at York, Maine, and the Gilman, at Exeter, New Hampshire, for which early dates are claimed, which are actually built, in part at least, of squared logs now concealed by later coverings.

In considering what he calls "the primitive shelters" Professor Kimball brings up Smith's description of the church at Jamestown and the curious word "cratchet," the meaning of which is of extraordinary importance. We have, of course, only the printer's version of the word. Professor Kimball thinks it the same as crotchet, to which I subscribe, but he takes it to mean the post with forked top which held a primitive ridgepole. It has seemed to me for some time that it means something more important than this, and Smith's words "like a barn" and his reference to "rafts" which were probably rafters, strengthen this conviction. A barn would hardly tolerate posts in the middle of its span, an arrangement which would be extremely inconvenient in a church, for that matter. Has Professor Kimball here the "cruck" or "erutch" of old English construction first brought to our attention, I think, by Mr. Addy in his *Evolution of the English House* (see headpiece). For the word appears in New England as "cratches," which might perhaps be the same thing as "crutches," which were, apparently, the same as "crucks." Now consider the section of the barn (see headpiece), which is like that given by Mr. Addy, and think, too, of Gawen Lawrie's words, quoted by Professor Kimball: "the walls are of cloven timber . . . one end to the ground"—he does not say *in* the ground—"the other nailed to the raising . . ." that is, possibly, to the purlin across the crucks, as the drawing shows (see headpiece). Note also that the primitive Jamestown church had walls made like the roof; it was not covered merely with rafters reaching from the ground to the ridge. It would be very interesting if we could carry this point further and prove, as we might possibly do if we had all the early references, that Professor Kimball's "cratchets," the "cratches" of the New England record, and the "cruck" of Mr. Addy and the late Mr. Innocent were the same.

We now come to the houses of the seventeenth century. While this cannot, of course, appeal to every one as the most interesting period of our architectural history, it is the most important. It is that in which investigation and record count for the most and are the most necessary—in fact such work must be done now or not at all—since the houses are rapidly disappearing or are losing their value as evidence through restorations which, on the other hand, are, with the steady destruction, constantly bringing new facts to light. Professor Kimball's treatment of this very important century does not seem at all what the work of the period deserves.

In the discussion of the frame house of this early time we come upon one characteristic which is to appear constantly throughout Professor Kimball's book and which is to render it, on the whole, I think, to most readers rather a disappointment. This is a too close reliance upon the documentary evidence. It is true that the great merit which he may claim for his work is his exaltation of the written evidence to a place which it ought to have and which the earlier writers have seldom given it; but he seems to me to attain this at the expense of the intimate knowledge of the fabric, of its forms and its construction, which he ought to have and which he does not seem to have acquired. He is inclined, too, to give too much weight to the views of historians who, untrained in technical matters, yet presume to date the old houses on the strength of documentary statements, ignoring the structural evidence which they are unfitted critically to examine. The inferences, too,

which he draws from his documents do not seem to be always correct. He thinks, for instance, that there were few framed houses till some time after the settlement. I think that, for New England at least, he minimizes the activity of the early carpenters. The cheap form of house was probably always in evidence—it certainly was for many years, but I believe the framed house, even at first, was not confined to the ministers and the magistrates. The Massachusetts records, moreover, are rather against such a view. Craftsmen were so busy and so much in demand that the General Court, after attempting to fix the wages of carpenters, masons, joiners, and bricklayers, was forced to order, on September 7, 1634, that "noe man (hereafter) shall be lyeable to pay the forfeit of vs for giueing more wages to workmen then the Court hath sett."¹

Professor Kimball denies any clear line of development in these houses, to only ten of which, now standing, all in Essex County, Massachusetts, will he allow an exact or nearly exact documentary date.

"It should not be surprising, then, that these houses, ranging, so far as we can prove, only from 1650 to 1700, represent a homogeneous style in which there was very little evolution. . . . Any dates prior to 1650, obviously, must be advanced with extreme caution. Thus in the case of the Fairbanks house . . . it is rash to maintain the very year of Jonathan Fairbank's admission as a townsman, 1636-7, as the date of the central part of the existing house." Again, "only in wealth and accommodations can we trace any consistent tendency." This is entirely plausible, but it is, at the same time, I think, misleading. The argument, for instance, which Professor Kimball cites against the early date of the Fairbanks house in this.² The William Avery house, now destroyed, "bore a striking resemblance to the Fairbanks house. . . . the writer has closely examined both houses and ventures the opinion that they were built about the same time." . . . William Avery was admitted a townsman in 1650. Therefore, since, for many strong reasons, not mentioned, neither house could have been built before 1650, the Fairbanks house was not built till that date.

The seventeenth century is full of puzzles; that is one thing which makes it so profoundly interesting. There are many survivals, though they do not all occur in the same house, as Professor Kimball himself recognizes, and, while it is possible that there is no clear line to be traced through the forest of old framing, that neither the theory of diluted tradition nor one of later accumulation of detail with acquired wealth is the right one, nevertheless, a long acquaintance with these old houses makes me loath to believe that a path cannot be found or that the attempt to find it is not worth while. If Professor Kimball had carefully examined the venerable dwelling which stands on the edge of the meadow at Dedham, he would not have had to take Rev. Mr. Millar's word for the construction of the wall filling, nor would he have accepted the statement just quoted and have condemned Jonathan Fairbanks to wait for the year 1650 so that the date of his house would be safe to record.

One of the puzzles of the early framing Professor Kimball does not touch upon: the habit, prevalent in Salem, of running the summer across the house in the first story instead of carrying it, as in the vast majority of examples, parallel with the front wall. Whence did this come? It occurs quite early, and, in one or two instances, quite late. It is the rule in Salem, but it can be found, in rare instances, from Ipswich on the north to Old Saybrook on the south.

¹Mass. Col. Rec., I, 127.

²Dedham Hist. Reg., IX, 4.

On another puzzle, the overhang, we get scant help. Relying upon his ten dated houses and upon his six photographs of the outsides of dated houses now destroyed, he throws away the theory of diluted tradition as well as that of the late appearance of the overhang, and denies that the framed overhang—which, by the way, he does not explain to the lay reader—died out after 1675 or that the end overhang is a sign of early date. “Our group of Massachusetts houses indicates that there at least the framed overhang appeared in houses as early as any now remaining, that it persisted until the end of the century, and that the end overhang is no sign of priority.” A single instance, just one house now standing out of the thousands once existing in the country, may, perhaps, be rather a narrow basis for a sweeping statement. Because the end overhang occurs late, 1684, in one end of the Ward house, which he says has been added to, and in the Hunt, 1698, which is gone and the framing of which no one knows anything about, it is not necessarily true that it is not a device far more common in early than in late houses, that it is not, in other words, a late survival. There is never any security about the date of a house till its construction is absolutely known throughout.

Some curious questions, too, arise from this denial of development. Was the Sun Tavern, in Boston, with its assumed date of 1680 and its Tudor overhang, as late as the Whipple house, in Hamilton, with a date which must be very close to 1682 and an original lean-to frame? Was the Peter Tufts house contemporary with both?

In Virginia, Professor Kimball says, there are no seventeenth-century houses of wood now known or even claimed. He is silent about Maryland save that he gives, by the courtesy of Mrs. Sioussat, a view of Bond Castle, in that colony, which is of very great interest and importance. It is exasperating to hear him say of this that it “suggests interesting material for further study.”

The treatment of the masonry house is better than that of the framed dwelling. Here we get our first real view of the work in Virginia, though it is, unfortunately, rather an inadequate glimpse. Only two houses in that colony now standing are allowed authentic dates, the Warren house and Bacon’s Castle. The drawings of the latter, though not Professor Kimball’s own, are of the very greatest value. It is to be hoped that Rev. Donald Millar, who made them, has made many more of the early dwellings of the Old Dominion. With the measured drawings of this castle is an old view of the building and, on the strength of this, it is hard to see why Mr. Millar dates the addition as late as 1854. Of the houses now destroyed we have only plans of those excavated at Jamestown and an exterior of Fairfield, another house of extraordinary interest. There are others which are not illustrated, the Cocke house, at Malvern Hill, for instance, destroyed quite recently, and the Adam Thoroughgood house, which is mentioned only with a statement of doubt as to its early date.

Professor Kimball apparently does not believe in any seventeenth-century house in Maryland or the Carolinas, or even in the Dutch settlements, though there are some in this last colony which claim that long descent. There are but two in Pennsylvania to which he assigns dates, and one of these is gone.

Poor New England is reduced to two houses now standing, with two others which have been destroyed. Of the two that are still in existence, the Peter Tufts house—it used to be credited to Gov. Matthew Cradock—is the earlier and it may be of the date he claims, 1677-80, though I doubt it. The Usher, or Royal house, at Medford, should hardly have been adduced at this stage of the discussion. The nucleus of it is spoken of as a brick house, but only one end of brick now appears on the outside, the front is of wood and there

are some things in the section which make the minute analysis of the changes a matter of some doubt.

The treatment of the two New England houses now destroyed, especially the Sergeant house, is a more serious matter. Peter Sergeant built a house in Boston in 1676-9 which later became the Province House and which was torn down a few months ago. But he did not build the house as it was shown in the old woodcut which Professor Kimball has reproduced and about which he has reasoned almost as if he had the original dwelling before him. Of course, Professor Kimball is not to blame because he could not foresee the evidence which the tearing down of the house would bring to light, but he might, had he tried, have seen the old outside chimney at one end—it used to be visible, at any rate—and he forsakes his rigid system of evidence when he makes about the old woodcut statements which are utterly destroyed by the gables, just about like those in Bacon's Castle, which, as the work of the wreckers has disclosed, Sergeant's mason actually built for him. In the face of this we may be pardoned for thinking that the modillion cornice at Fairfield would, if it could be examined, prove to be, like some cornices in New England, later than the original construction.

Of that difficult period, the transition from mediæval to Palladian forms, Professor Kimball says very little. He begins the story of the eighteenth century with a statement of the course of academic or Palladian architecture in England and then shows how it spread here, as it did among the people of moderate means in that country, through the books which were put forth in vast numbers, edition after edition, from the year 1700. His account of these books and their influence is very interesting and is the best if not the only clear view we have of the whole field.

Then follows a discussion of the materials, a view of the increasing number of houses in brick and stone which were, of course, mostly outside of New England, where, as he says, the fear of dampness held back the building of masonry dwellings. It would be of interest to know, however, just how great the proportion of increase was when the vast number of Colonial houses, both town and farm, is regarded.

Professor Kimball gives almost a sigh of relief when he can forget the "exposed beams and other functional elements" and turn to "more abstract compositions of space, mass, and surface." Among these is the far more academic plan which has come in from England with the new order of things. His discussion of this is full and good, though he does not pay much attention to the older plans which, as he says, survived far into the century. Indeed, the plan which appears in the lean-to house of 1680 is still in use in New England in 1800. Two examples of it appear among Jefferson's papers, whether by his own hand or not.

The keynote of the new plan, of course, is given by the increased requirements of privacy. Where no greater need was felt for this, or where it entailed any great expense, the older plan might survive, as many a small house of to-day goes without what would be a very convenient corridor in order to save money. There were several ways of getting these new results, as Professor Kimball shows in his group of houses with the H plan, like Tuckahoe and Stratford, in Virginia, in his group, by far the largest, with the central entry through the house—transverse hall, he calls it, in defiance of the old inventories and contracts—and in his even more interesting, if smaller group "with a developed front hall and a stair hall at the rear." Early instances of this last are the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, and Stenton, near Philadelphia. While this was uncommon in the North it might be noted that in the Schuyler house at Albany the stairs were cut off from the front part of the

hall by a partition, though there was no change in width, and that an arch was sometimes used to mark this separation in the straight New England entries. The best houses in this group are Carter's Grove and Cliveden. A fourth group is that "with a stair hall expanded to one side" as in Shirley and Rosewell, of which plans are given, and in the Ladd house in Portsmouth, in all three of which the entry is practically one of the corner rooms of the house. Other instances of this occur in the North. We might wonder whether, in Virginia, this scheme were not descended from the old type of house divided by a single cross partition, where the stairs were necessarily in one of the rooms. The fifth group is marked by "a broad transverse hall free from stairs, and stairs placed laterally," as in Mount Airy, Mount Pleasant, and Whitehall, and in the Van Rensselaer house at Albany. I doubt if this form was quite so widespread as Professor Kimball implies in calling it "one of the favorite types after 1760." It appears in rare instances in New England, but with the stairs at one side of the entry and parallel to it.

Almost all the plans here given are Southern, and nearly every one is that of a brick or stone house. It is a pity that there are not more New England plans and more of the humbler type in the South—in short, more chances for the comparisons which are so interesting and important in art history. It will be instructive for the reader to note carefully something which Professor Kimball says very little about—nothing, indeed, in any formal manner—the placing of the chimneys in these houses. The back stairs and the side entrance should also be compared in the different plans.

The ell, as a part of the plan, does not appear in any of these drawings, and Professor Kimball mentions only the Van Cortlandt house as a dated example, though he says it was a common form in houses one room deep, a rather unsatisfactory statement.

The relation of the house to its outbuildings is discussed at some length with a page of excellent block plans. Here again the examples are Southern and there is no attempt to set forth the schemes used in the North.

It is again a little disheartening to read, as a warning, that there is no line of development in the plan. "Among the houses where free access to all the rooms is provided, it would be a mistake to suppose a general chronological sequence for the several types of arrangement. Rather we find, irrespective of general type, a historical progression, from functional arrangement with little regard for formal relationships, to formal symmetry with attention to the composition of space."

From the plan Professor Kimball goes to the exterior, with a somewhat limited treatment of roofs, the plain gable, the hip, and the gambrel. He gives some sections of curb (gambrel) roofs from English books, and explains the form as a means of roofing a house two rooms deep, at a steep pitch, without the enormous height of the old chateau roof. Inigo Jones got over this by the hipped roof with a nearly flat deck, a type used here in the earlier part of the century—and later, too, though with a much flatter pitch—and the gambrel is a good deal like this with a gable at each end. He does not mention the combination of hip and gambrel so common at Newport, but he does give names, "jerkin-head," "hipp'd wall roof," "snug dutch roof," to the ugly truncated gable which Richard Munday used in the Newport Colony house and which appears in the Pinckney house, in Charleston, and even in Virginia. It is on the upper deck of the hip roof that the balustrade first appears. Its use over the cornice, he says, comes later.

"For the exteriors we may say, in general," Professor Kimball continues, "that the development is toward a higher and higher degree of formal organization," and he goes on to explain this as regular spacing of openings, balance, the use of door and window casings,

cornices, quoins, and then the "elements primarily formal in their very nature—'pavilions,' pilasters, and porticos.'" He speaks as if rusticated walls were rather common, which has not been my observation of the examples. He claims, on the authority of the old woodcut and some description, that the Sergeant (Province) house had a porch with columns in 1679, an astonishing assumption which the latest evidence must dispose of entirely. On that puzzling factor in our architecture, the piazza, he throws welcome light in quotations from letters of 1771 between Copley and Henry Pelham, the painter's brother-in-law, about the former's house. Copley, in New York, thinks of adding "a peazer . . . which is much practiced here." Pelham, in Boston, "don't comprehend what you mean."

In the interiors the formal academic treatment which Professor Kimball describes and which, as he says, "took the place of the direct revelation of structural elements," came in, I think, rather more slowly than he indicates. With his eyes upon the more important houses and the changes they display, he loses sight of a host of dwellings which show very plainly the struggle between the two forces and the many survivals of older or cruder forms well into the century. This is to miss also a good deal of very excellent detail, for many a rough exterior will reveal astonishing work in its best room.

In his treatment of panelling Professor Kimball does not quite make clear the transition from sheathing to panels, which, he says, came about 1700, a date which seems a bit early. Nor does he give as much attention as he might to what may be the earliest form of panelling, in the eighteenth century, that with the bolection moulding, where the face of the raised and bevelled panel is in front of the stile and rail (see tailpiece). This was a form which Wren liked to use and which appears in houses attributed to him. There was a room in Newport of about 1722, where the panelling was, in detail, very close to that at Belton. It even had the heavy rolling architrave moulding of the Girdlers' Hall or of St. Lawrence, Jewry. The fact that this form of architrave would not receive the surbase was what led to the habit of cutting the latter off and returning it, a habit which long survived the architrave that caused it. The bolection moulding panelling seems never to have been common in the South or in Philadelphia. Was it succeeded by the form in which the panel, still raised and bevelled, was flush with the stile (see tailpiece), or was this latter the usual type up to 1765, and the bolection moulding a rare variant, as Professor Kimball says? This is an important question. For the South he is right, as far as the examples go, though we have almost no very early ones, and the date of the panelling is not always the date of the house. For New England I think the bolection moulding came first.

Professor Kimball goes on to speak of the low panelling in the halls or entries which was used in the North because, as he suggests, trouble arose when the high panels cleared the edge of the stair well and had to rise to the second story cornice.

The section devoted to the mantel is very good, as far as it goes. The type with the overmantel is well illustrated and its English origin clearly explained by cuts from contemporary English pattern books; but the mantel which originally formed part of the panelling and developed therefrom, and the single mantel, the one-story mantel, so to speak, are rather neglected.

What Professor Kimball has to say about the staircase is also, in general, very good, and he traces the development fairly, but his treatment is marred by too great brevity and by the appearance, at least, of haste, so that the second reading is clearer than the first. It is curious to find, too, in a book so particular about documented dates, that this or that stair is claimed as the earliest example of the cylindrical newel, the newel with double

spiral or the scroll and curtail. Again, these terms are not fully illustrated, and might be very cloudy to the uninitiated.

The ceilings of the period are taken up and the line of their development is followed. There were few stucco workers in the Colonies, Professor Kimball says, but here and there in the great houses were some elaborate ceilings, while a few scrolls and festoons appear on the walls. It may be noted here that the panelling in the drawing room of the Bryce house, as well as the cornice, is in plaster.

Paint is the last topic to be considered. Professor Kimball says that the painting of interiors began about 1725 and that the color used was not white. Some readers may find this statement hard to believe, but it is perfectly true. White was very rare in eighteenth-century interiors if it occurred at all.

In closing his account of this period Professor Kimball marks as an error "the prevailing belief . . . that the most characteristic American architecture was the Colonial work of the eighteenth century." He goes on: "It is not the Colonial which constitutes America's really characteristic achievement in architecture. A truly American contribution to architectural style appeared only after the Revolution, and then it assumed a historical importance which has been little recognized."

Professor Kimball's setting forth, in the third section of his book, of this contribution and its import, is very interesting but hardly convincing. Nor more so is his attempt to make Jefferson "the prophet of the new gospel," though he is perhaps right in saying that "its earliest apostles were other distinguished laymen and amateurs." To him the classic revival was what we have always called simply the "Greek Revival" and "its ultimate ideal the temple." He says, later on, that Mills, Strickland, and Walter would not bow to the temple craze, in dwelling houses, "so that it represents a genuinely popular preference of laymen and amateurs." From this it would seem that the movement is less the special contribution he claims it to be than a sign of the radical tide which began to rise in the Revolution and which finally swept the older traditional art into oblivion along with the Federal party and the aristocratic traditions of the eighteenth century. It was an expression, possibly, of the Americanism of the time in its dislike of knowledge—in others—and of the authority of experts, of the Americanism which needs only to don a uniform to become a general or to pick up a pencil to become an architect.

Professor Kimball says, however, that the older style, which he prefers to call, tentatively, post-Colonial, lived on beyond the Revolution, and his account of it bears out his statement. It is very well done indeed, apart from some confusion in the presentation and the odd way the illustrations are jumbled, and is the best treatment of a period in the book.

The discussion here, indeed, is nearly the same as that used for the eighteenth century. The remarkable changes in the plan are analyzed; the elevations and the interiors, with their stairs, doorways, and mantels, are passed in review. There is, however, less evidence of the haste which seemed to characterize the description of the other two centuries; there is almost no criticism of the dating, which, indeed, is now less in dispute; and, above all, Professor Kimball seems more at home in the period. He is fond of it, and it lends itself to his skill in the discovery and use of documents.

The Chronological Chart, a list of "Houses of Which the Date and Authorship are Established by Documents," the earliest date in which is 1651, the latest 1857, deserves more than a passing notice. Indeed, it might well be accorded, with the Notes on Individual Houses, a review by itself, somewhat controversial in places, by the way. For these two sections, together, are, to the historical student, perhaps the most important

part of the book. There are many houses which do not appear, the dates of some can be shown to rest on no more trustworthy assertions than those which support some dates which Professor Kimball refuses to accept; but here, together, is collected a list of dates which, in the greater number, are authentic and which give the investigator at least a point of departure for further study. For it must not be supposed that the Colonial problem is solved. Professor Kimball has made another step toward the goal, but he has not reached it. If he could have added to his love of research and his skill in the use of documents a fondness for the old work in itself and thus a more patient observation of it, he would have come very near to saying the last word on our early architecture.

Norman Morrison Isham

